

A New Tack for Unity

*President
Kim Young Sam's
1994 Liberation Day Speech
with Explanatory Notes*

August 15, 1994

**National Unification Board
Republic of Korea**

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President Kim Young Sam's 1994 Liberation Day Speech

August 15, 1994

Fellow citizens,

I join all of you in heartily celebrating the 49th anniversary of national liberation. In observing the second National Liberation Day since the birth of this democratic civilian Administration, we are more hopeful and confident than ever before about the bright future of our nation. Over the past year and a half, our people have endeavored together to promote change, reform, openness and progress. We have enhanced the nation's competitiveness on the strength of a clean government.

We have restored the building in Shanghai that used to house the Provisional Korean Government. The remains of several patriotic ancestors have been brought home and entombed in their homeland.

The legitimacy of the Republic of Korea has been more firmly established than ever before. Our intrinsic national spirit is being revived as we are proudly shaping a brighter future for our nation. At the same time, the center of a new civilization is shifting toward the Asia-Pacific region. An opportunity is approaching for us to become a key player in this Asia-Pacific era and in the emerging new civilization.

The Korean people cannot live divided forever. We must pool all our national determination and energies. We must become one again and forge an era in which our proud people are at the forefront of a new civilization.

My 70 million compatriots at home and abroad,

As the President of the Republic of Korea, I have not forgotten for even a single moment my responsibility for the security, survival, unification and prosperity of our 70 million people. It was with this acute sense of responsibility that this past July I pursued a South-North summit meeting.

Now that both the currents of world history and the trend of South-North relations are entering a new phase, I hereby wish to redefine the basic position of our Government on unification.

Over the past century, the Korean people have tirelessly striven to secure independence, freedom and democracy. National liberation will have been truly completed only when we have built a unified Korea marked by blooming democracy and brimming prosperity.

World history has already proclaimed the victory of freedom and democracy. We are now living in the age of ever-spreading democracy. With the advent of this civilian government, democracy is spreading its roots into our soil ever deeper and firmer. We will defend our hard-won freedom and democracy at any cost. I want to make it clear once again that any challenges to our free and democratic system will not be tolerated.

The basic philosophy behind our quest for unification is also centered on the values of freedom and democracy. Without freedom, there can be no democracy. Without democracy, there can be no genuine freedom and peace. With firm faith in democracy and on the strength of the independent abilities of our nation, we must strive harder to overcome the lingering remnants of the Cold War and end the territorial division in order to achieve the long-cherished goal of peaceful unification without fail.

The unification process should be focused not on how to distribute power but on how to enable our people to live together. Unification should be grounded on the values of freedom, democracy and well-being for all, rather than on any ideology focused narrowly on a specific class or group. Efforts toward unification should

be concerned not so much with developing a hypothetical structure of a unified state as with building a national community within which all Koreans can live together.

Unification should be achieved on our own according to the wishes of our people and by virtue of our inherent national capabilities. Unification must be achieved peacefully without fail. It must not be achieved through war or one side overthrowing the other. Unification must be achieved democratically on the strength of the freedom and rights of all Koreans.

It will not be possible to unify the South and the North overnight, because the two parts of Korea have been locked into mutual hostility and distrust for as long as they have consistently pursued distinctly different ideologies and markedly different political and social systems. Unification should be a gradual and phased process of building a single national community.

The Government has already made public a three-stage unification formula for building a single national community. It calls first for reconciliation and cooperation between the South and the North, next for forming a Korean commonwealth and lastly for completing a single unified nation-state.

First of all, the presently hostile and confrontational South-North relations must be replaced with an amicable and cooperative relationship. Yemen failed to prevent a civil war even after it was politically unified. This is because it was unified hastily and superficially without having gone through a process of real reconciliation and cooperation.

South and North Korea must first promote coexistence and coprosperity and then join together in a Korean commonwealth to ensure lasting peace. During the commonwealth stage, the two areas of Korea should form and develop a single socio-economic community to lay the groundwork for political integration.

In short, the Government's Three-Stage Unification Formula for Building a Korean National Community is designed to ultimately build a single nation-state after going through interim stages of in-

tegration. The path to unification must also be the path to democracy and prosperity. A unified homeland which will belong to all 70 million Koreans must be built on a national community and must guarantee every individual citizen freedom, welfare and human dignity.

My compatriots at home and abroad,

The Cold War era is finally leaving the Korean Peninsula, too. The competition between the South and the North over which can create a better society has already been decided. The 20th century has witnessed the failure of the experiments of socialism and Communism. Following the demise of the Cold War, the whole world is now marching down the avenue of freedom, well-being and openness. The Korean Peninsula alone cannot be excluded from this historic global trend.

The North Korean leadership must, as a matter of course, abandon their obsolete strategy of communizing the South. They must also undertake bold reforms, including the improvement of the human rights situation. Pyongyang must not only recognize the plight of dispersed families as a basic human rights issue but also promptly cooperate to resolve the problem of South Koreans who were abducted.

South-North relations should be focused on how to promote the well-being of the entire populace, rather than be mired in futile ideological confrontation. Now is the time for us to endeavor harder to catch up with the changing times and make pragmatic preparations one after another for moving toward peace and cooperation.

Currently, North Korea is undergoing a major transition as it experiences its first succession of power since the regime was found (in 1948).

We hope that the North will come to pursue a path of reform and openness amidst stabilization. Our Government and our people, as fellow brethren, will spare no effort in supporting and cooperating with the North for such endeavors. Only after the people of the South and the North cooperate with each other and bring

about mutual prosperity will it be possible to form a single economic community which will naturally pave the way for unification.

National unification should not hinder the Korean national community's efforts to join the ranks of the advanced nations; instead, it should help further develop the creativity and potential of our people. This is the reason that we do not desire unification by absorption.

The first step toward improving South-North relations should be to build mutual trust. Mutual trust can only be built when mutual commitments are sincerely translated into action. The Basic Agreement between the South and the North and the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula were landmark accords for reconciliation and cooperation declared before the entire Korean people and international society.

The North Korean nuclear issue which has created such serious tension on the Korean Peninsula during the past year, should be resolved by complying with the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. For the sake of creating an atmosphere conducive to promoting reconciliation and cooperation, we must immediately stop slandering each other and expeditiously build up military trust so that the state of military confrontation can finally be ended.

Our doors are always open for dialogue with the North at any place and any time. The North must open its doors and join the rest of the international community. We have never wanted to see the North isolated from the rest of the world. For its part, the North must give up its isolationist adventurism emboldened by its nuclear ambition.

If and when the North guarantees the transparency of its nuclear activities, we are ready to support their development of the peaceful use of nuclear energy, including light-water nuclear reactor construction, by providing them with the necessary capital and technology. This could well become the very first joint project for national development leading to the establishment of a single community of the Korean people.

Fellow citizens,

I repeat once again that we are hoping for a unification which is gradual and step-by-step. However, there is, of course, the possibility that unification could occur unexpectedly at any time. We must examine every possibility and be fully prepared for any outcome.

Whenever or however it happens, national unification must begin with the restoration and development of the presently divided and heterogenous elements of Korean society into a unified national community. To this end, we must begin by developing our own society into a model democratic community. Unification will not only bring glory and joy, but will also entail pain and sacrifice, and we must gather the strength and courage needed to endure this.

We must always keep in mind the difficulties being experienced by our brethren in the North. The problems of the North are our own problems. We must always be prepared and ready to cooperate with our fellow brethren. We must resolutely prepare ourselves for national reconciliation and unification.

Fellow citizens and brethren overseas,

As we reflect on the past half-century, we cannot help but be emotionally moved and at the same time ashamed of ourselves, even more so as we recall the difficulties and sufferings of our people in the South, in the North and overseas. We must strive to make the year 1995, the 50th anniversary of the restoration of our independence, a milestone in our history. It is for this reason that we are beginning preparations now for commemorating that event.

I would like to propose to my compatriots at home and abroad that the 50th anniversary of liberation be made a catalyst for our concerted efforts toward opening an era of the 70 million Korean people living under one roof.

Our people successfully overcame the oppression of colonial rule,

and our independence was restored. Our people fought against dictatorship and successfully established a democracy. Our people rose from the ashes of the Korean War and brought about the Miracle on the Han River.

As an extension of this, now our people must endeavor to create a New Korea, a unified nation fully enjoying democracy and prosperity. Just as our forebears shed their precious blood for the liberation of our homeland, we must now shed our own sweat for a second liberation. By doing so, I hope we will be able to hand over to our posterity the unified, prosperous homeland our forebears and we dreamed about and have striven so long to create.

Our nation will stand tall at the center of a new world civilization without fail. Let us all pool our strength and closely cooperate for a second liberation. Let us all march together toward a great era of national unity.

Thank you.

Explanatory Notes

In a nationally-televised speech on the 49th Liberation Day on August 15, 1994, President Kim Young Sam of the Republic of Korea redefined the Republic's unification policy, as well as its policy toward North Korea, in light of the changing situation on the Korean Peninsula. The background of the new policies, centered on a three-phased Korean National Community Unification Formula, and their main features and basic aims are described in the following pages.

INTRODUCTION

During the first half of the 20th century, Korea lost its independence and suffered great frustration and humiliation due to its failure to muster its inherent national capabilities to cope with the changing international situation. Furthermore, the land remains tragically divided although nearly five decades have passed since it was liberated from colonial subjugation. Korea thus continues to be the last battlefield of the Cold War which has ended throughout the rest of the world.

As the 20th century approaches its close, however, the course of national history is facing a potentially great turning point amid enormous changes now sweeping the globe. Externally, a new world order oriented toward freedom and welfare for all in an open global community is emerging following the collapse of the Communist bloc and the consequent East-West reconciliation. The world trend is toward greater respect for human dignity and closer international cooperation for peace and prosperity. The international community is now driven chiefly by an ever more intense pursuit of practical interests through borderless economic competition.

Internally, democracy has spread firm and deep roots into Korean soil following the birth of the current civilian democratic Administration in February 1993. The intrinsic national spirit is being revived and the groundwork is being laid for propelling the nation onto the center stage of the 21st century. Reforms have been carried out throughout society, spurring steady growth in national might. This has enhanced the people's confidence that it will be possible to usher in a new era of national unity.

Relations between South and North Korea are bound to enter into a new phase following the death of Kim Il-sung who had ruled North Korea for nearly five decades. Having run into the limitations of its socialist system that has led to increasing international isolation and mounting economic woes, North Korea will almost certainly have to attempt a major transition as it readjusts its post-Kim power structure.

The new global trends and anticipated changes in intra-Korean relations dictate that the nation pool its determination and energies to build a unified homeland of blooming democracy and brimming prosperity before the present century is out. Keeping a close watch on the shifting environment of the Korean Peninsula, President Kim has just enunciated a comprehensive and forward-looking unification policy that has been developed with greater confidence in the future of the nation after listening to the opinions of all segments of society.

MAIN FEATURES

A Phased Process of Unification

President Kim proposed that the 50th Liberation Day, which will fall on August 15, 1995, be made the catalyst for opening an "era of the 70 million Korean people living under one roof." Now that the legitimacy of the Republic of Korea has been more firmly established than ever before and the intrinsic Korean spirit is being revived, the time has come to pool the people's determination and energies to thrust the nation into a glorious future.

The basic philosophy behind the newly defined policy of building a single Korean national community is rooted in the values of freedom and democracy, which must be defended at any cost. No challenges to freedom and democracy will be tolerated.

The process of unification should be focused on how to ensure that all Koreans will live together, rather than on how to distribute power. Unification must be based on the values of freedom, democracy and well-being for all, rather than on any ideology narrowly focused on a specific class or group.

The unification process must be concerned principally with building a single national community in which all Koreans will live together, rather than with developing a hypothetical structure of a unified state.

Principles for Unification

Independence: Unification must be achieved on Korea's own according to the wishes of the Korean people and on the strength of its inherent national capabilities.

Peace: Unification must be achieved peacefully, not through war or the overthrow of the other side.

Democracy: Unification must be achieved democratically on the strength of the freedom and rights of all Koreans.

The Unification Process

Unification will be pursued progressively with emphasis on building a single national community. To this end, the **Korean National Community Unification Formula** envisions the following three phases culminating in full unity:

Reconciliation and Cooperation Phase: The present hostility and confrontation between the South and the North is replaced with a relationship of reconciliation and cooperation.

Korean Commonwealth Phase: In this phase, peaceful coexistence and coprosperity is secured and the two parts of Korea are joined in a single socio-economic community.

Single Nation-State Phase: A single nation-state is completed by fully integrating the South and the North.

The Vision of a Unified Korea

A unified Korea will be built on a Korean national community to which all the 70 million Koreans would belong and in which individual citizens would be guaranteed freedom, welfare and human dignity.

How to Implement the Unification Policy

In light of the global trends toward universal freedom, welfare and openness, the development of South-North relations should be focused on promoting the well-being of the entire Korean people. The Republic of Korea sincerely hopes that North Korea will pursue reform and openness under conditions of stability. The South has no desire to unify the Korean Peninsula by absorbing the North.

Immediate Aims of the Policy toward the North

(1) To persuade North Korea to abandon its ambitions to communize the South.

(2) To induce improvements in the human rights situation in the North and to resolve the issues of the numerous families separated by the partitioning of the land and of South Koreans who have been abducted to the North and are being detained there.

(3) To convince the North to faithfully comply with the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation between the South and the North (commonly called the South-North Basic Agreement) and the South-North Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. This should include, among other things, the cessation of mutual slandering that is detrimental to reconciliation and steps to build military trust with the goal of ending military confrontation.

(4) To keep the doors open for South-North dialogue.

(5) To convince the North to cease nuclear adventurism. If and when Pyongyang ensures the transparency of its nuclear activities, the ROK is prepared to support the North's development of

the peaceful use of nuclear energy, including light-water reactor construction, by helping to make the necessary capital and technology available.

(6) To get the North interested in the Korean National Community Unification Formula and work together with them to design and carry out projects aimed at helping to build a single national community. The contemplated support for light-water reactor construction could be the first such project.

Preparations for Unification

The ROK will make the necessary preparations for any and every possible mode of unification at any time. It is prepared to share the pain and sacrifice that could accompany unification.

To promote the unification process, it is essential to first develop South Korea into a model democratic community.

The South will explore ways to cooperate with the North to ease the economic hardship of the North Koreans, who are members of the same ethnic family as South Koreans.

BASIC AIMS

Initiatives for Ending Division

The basic purpose of President Kim Young Sam's Liberation Day speech was to express the nation's determination to turn the 50th Liberation Day in 1995 into the catalyst for ushering in an "era of the 70 million Korean people living under one roof." He suggested that the Republic confidently work toward that goal on the strength of its national might that has been built up thus far, as well as on the legitimacy and moral authority of the present democratic civilian Government.

Looking back, Korea was made to suffer humiliation and frustration under foreign colonial rule during the first half of the 20th

century. Subsequently, the Korean people have had to suffer until the present the pain of division, aggravated by a fratricidal war, under the Cold War regime. Though patriotic Korean ancestors all yearned for a unified and independent country on this land, the nation has been unable to end the nearly 50 years of division—a major drain on national resources and energies.

Now that the competition between the South and the North over which can build a better society has already been decided, it is high time to pool the nation's determination and energies to confidently strive toward the goal of creating a new, truly democratic and prosperous, unified Korea before the present century is over. President Kim said that the nation should take the initiative and endeavor to shape a great future for the entire Korean people so that they will be able to stand tall and proud at the center stage of world civilization in the next century.

His vision seems to be shared by a large majority of the people. A poll conducted in July 1994 showed that 85.9 percent of ordinary South Koreans of 20 years of age or older and 91.4 percent of the members of the Advisory Council on Democratic and Peaceful Unification believed that unification will be possible within 10 years. By comparison, in a similar survey conducted in June 1993, only 43.9 percent of the respondents said unification would be possible within 10 years.

Turning Changes into Opportunities

North Korea is now in a state of flux following the death of Kim Il-sung, its only leader for the past half century. In consequence, it appears inevitable that South-North relations will now enter into a new phase. This should offer the Republic an unprecedented opportunity to take a new initiative and actively transform South-North relations. To that end, it has become imperative to comprehensively reexamine and redefine the Republic's existing unification policy, as well as its policy toward the North in order to set clear-cut guidelines for future endeavors toward national unity.

The thrust of the new policies is to outgrow the past passive and defensive policies toward North Korea and to present it with a clear vision of a unified Korea, as well as a well-defined and forward-looking unification formula designed to ensure well-being and prosperity for all Koreans. In that way, it should be possible to induce North Korea to change and reform itself so that the two side can move together toward that goal.

Thus, the 1994 Liberation Day speech by President Kim enunciated in concrete terms the Republic's immediate policy toward the North, as well as the basic concept and major components of its unification policy. At the same time, he urged the nation to make thorough preparations for unification. On the basis of the new policy concepts, it has now become possible for the ROK Government to work out multi-faceted and all-inclusive steps to make the most of every opening for improving intra-Korean relations, while keeping a close eye on further developments in the North, including the process of succession to power.

In the above-mentioned poll in July 1994, 77.4 percent of ordinary South Koreans of the age of 20 or older and 92.4 percent of the members of the Advisory Council on Democratic and Peaceful Unification said that the Republic's policy toward North Korea must be changed in view of the demise of Kim Il-sung.

Freedom and Democracy Basic to Unification

President Kim's Liberation Day speech made it clear that the philosophy behind the Republic's unification policy is rooted in the values of freedom and democracy. World history has proclaimed the victory of freedom and democracy following the collapse of Communism in the Soviet bloc. The contest for the hearts and minds of people between the two opposed ideologies has ended. Nowadays, freedom and democracy are prevailing as universal values.

Over the past century, the Korean people have also consistently pursued the goal of an independent, free, democratic and

prosperous country. They have tirelessly struggled for the twin goals of economic development and democratization against all odds and have finally achieved both. The Republic of Korea is now widely regarded as a model for emerging countries.

Through the Liberation Day address, it was made crystal clear that the values of freedom and democracy must be embodied in both the unification process and a unified Korea. At the same time, President Kim declared that any challenges to the Republic's free and democratic system, especially from such pro-North Korean and radical groups as Jusapa the student group committed to *juche* (self-reliance) ideology developed by Kim Il-sung will not be tolerated. He expressed a firm determination as the chief executive to defend freedom and democracy at any cost.

Every Korean Must Pull Together

The Government of President Kim defines the basic principles that must be upheld in pursuing unification as independence, peace and democracy. In this way, consistency with the unification policy of the former administration is maintained.

Still, the new Administration's unification policy places greater emphasis on the freedom and democratic participation of all individual citizens. This is in keeping with the fact that the basic philosophy behind that policy is rooted in the values of freedom and democracy. In particular, the redirected unification policy stresses that unification must be realized through democratic procedures that guarantee each and every Korean the opportunities to participate in the process, and that a unified Korea must be a democratic country to which every Korean truly belongs.

In fact, the principle of "grand national unity" set forth in the South-North Joint Communiqué of July 4, 1972, calls for democratic unification on the strength of the freedom and rights of all Koreans. This is in agreement with the principle of democracy as described in the unification policy of the Kim Young Sam Administration.

Restoring a National Community

For many past centuries until they were artificially divided in 1945, the Korean people lived in a single national community. This age-old sense of community still bonds all Koreans together. It explains why Korea must be reunified and is indeed the motivating power for unification.

The Republic has consistently maintained the position that through interaction and cooperation, the South and the North must restore and develop a single national community leading to a unified democratic state committed to public welfare. This concept of a single national community is focused more on how to ensure that the entire Korean people will live together under one roof than on how to distribute power or how to develop the structure of a unified state. In that way, the Korean National Community Unification Formula envisions that through the process of building a single national community to bring the South and the North together, the conditions necessary for political unification will also be created, leading to the completion of a single unified nation-state.

The concept of a national community proposed by the South and that of a confederation proposed by the North are compared in the following table.

The concept of a National Community proposed by the South is focused on:	The concept of a Confederation proposed by the North focused on:
How to ensure that the entire Korean people will live together under one roof	How to distribute power
freedom, democracy and the well-being of all	the interests of a specific class and groups
Building a single national community	Developing the structure of a unified state

The Three Phases of the Unification Process

The 1994 Liberation Day speech by President Kim systematized the various basic ideas about unification that had been voiced on many occasions since the birth of his new Administration about a year and a half before.

The kernel of the unification policy of the Republic has shifted away from territorial, legal and political unification in a single step and toward phased and progressive integration by way of the restoration and development of a single national community that has broken down due to prolonged hostility and confrontation between the two parts of Korea. This new phased approach to unification was first adopted by the Republic in the initial version of the Korean National Community Unification Formula laid down in September 1989.

Soon after its birth in early 1993, the new democratic civilian Administration unveiled a three-phase unification formula calling first for South-North reconciliation and cooperation, next for the formation of a Korean commonwealth and lastly for the completion of a single, unified nation-state. While preserving the basic framework of the initial Korean National Community Unification Formula, this modified plan was designed to facilitate the implementation of the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression and Exchanges and Cooperation (commonly called the South-North Basic Agreement) and the South-North Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, both of which entered into force on February 19, 1992. This was why the first phase of the unification process was defined as the “phase of reconciliation and cooperation.”

Thereafter, however, there arose a need to elaborate on the basic philosophy behind the new Administration’s unification formula, as well as the vision of a unified Korea. Moreover, the name, “the Three-Phased Unification Formula,” also had the connotations of emphasizing only the technicalities of the unification process, rather than its substance.

The new Administration thus decided to further develop and refine its unification formula, taking into account the recent changes in the international situation in general and the environment of South-North relations in particular. It also decided to more clearly define the basic philosophy and principles of unification and the vision of a unified Korea. It also readopted the name, “the Korean National Community Unification Formula,” which best described the thrust of the formula.

Dealing with the New North Korean Regime

As President Kim said in his 1994 Liberation Day speech, the process of succession to power in North Korea must not lead to destabilization on the Korean Peninsula. Now that Kim Il-sung’s monolithic grip is gone, the North should be able to break out of its Cold War shell of self-imposed isolation and pursue reform and change in earnest. The new North Korean leadership should actively capitalize on the new global trends toward freedom, social welfare and openness.

President Kim thus called on the North to now take pragmatic approaches especially to South-North relations so that the two areas of Korea can work together to secure durable peace and promote the economic well-being of the entire Korean people by harnessing their creative energies and capabilities. He thus expressed what is expected of the new North Korean regime, while describing the basic goals of the Administration’s policy toward the North.

In other words, the President made it clear that the Republic will continue to uphold the concept of South-North relations being “a special interim relationship stemming from the process towards unification” as defined in the preamble to the South-North Basic Agreement and the pledge by the South and the North to “recognize and respect each other’s system” as stated in Article 1 of that agreement.

The Republic’s position that it does not want to unify Korea by absorbing the North was reiterated as part of the efforts to per-

suade Pyongyang to discard its futile ideological confrontation against the South.

Urging Shifts in the North's Policy Toward the South

In his Liberation Day speech, in addition to enunciating the basic concept and goals of the Administration's unification policy, President Kim urged the North to change its policy toward the South so that the two parts of Korea will be able to resolve the issues pending between them. He made it clear once again that the doors will be kept open for dialogue at any time and any place.

The global trends toward freedom, social welfare and openness underline the Republic's unification policy centered on the restoration and development of a single Korean national community. This should make it easier for the South to pull the North into its embrace, rather than continuing to chase after it in vain.

To that end, President Kim called on the North to give up its ambitions to communize the South, to address human rights issues, including the issues of the numerous families separated by the partitioning of the Korean Peninsula and of the South Koreans who were abducted to the North and are now detained there, and to comply with the South-North Basic Agreement and the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

In particular, it was announced once more that once the transparency of North Korea's nuclear activities is ensured, the Republic is prepared to support its development of the peaceful use of nuclear energy, including light-water reactor construction, by providing it with the necessary capital and technology. The North was urged to give up its isolationist adventurism coupled with its nuclear ambitions.

Outlining Joint Projects for National Development

In his Liberation Day address, President Kim proposed that South-North joint projects be undertaken to facilitate the development of a single national community. He said that the first such project

could be light-water nuclear reactor construction in the North in the event the nuclear issue is fully resolved.

Political and economic barriers are being lowered and even dismantled throughout the world so that nations can race into a new era of peace and prosperity. The world is now being driven chiefly by economic competition for greater practical interests, rather than by ideological or military rivalry.

The Korean people should also free themselves from the yoke of futile ideological confrontation so that South-North relations can be reoriented toward the goal of greater well-being for all. The South and the North should pull together to build an unified and truly advanced country in which public welfare is guaranteed and everyone lives well.

To that end, the two areas of Korea must promptly begin to cooperate to build an economic community designed to bring all the creative capabilities and energies of the Korean people into play. This will lead to a broader Korean national community and thus even greater well-being for the entire Korean people.

It was with that spirit that President Kim proposed South-North joint projects for national development, with light-water nuclear reactor construction in the North earmarked as the first of such projects. This idea was not conceived as a payoff for solving the nuclear issue.

Stepping Up Preparations for Unification

Unification no longer remains in the realm of a pipe dream or wishful thinking; it has now become a realistic goal, a feasible task. This calls for greater preparedness on the part of the South for unification, including the buildup of its capabilities to accomplish the task, as well as its more active efforts to improve intra-Korean relations.

The German and Yemeni experiences show that unification abruptly realized without careful and systematic planning and prepa-

rations can lead to enormously adverse consequences, even a new and real national catastrophe.

Of course, the Administration has been pursuing a policy of progressive South-North integration, first to bring the two heterogeneous societies together into a single national community and further develop it so that a fully unified Korea can be built eventually. However, it would be unwise to rule out the possibility that unification can take place abruptly and unexpectedly against the wishes of the South. Accordingly, all possible scenarios must be examined and sufficient preparations made for any possible turn of events.

The most important way of preparing for unification is by translating the vision of a unified homeland into reality first in the South itself—that is to say, by developing South Korean society into a model democratic community. This calls, among other things, for a clear understanding on the part of each and every citizen of what his or her duties, as well as rights, are. The public should also be fully prepared to share the pain and cost of attaining the glorious goal of unification.

President Kim's Liberation Day speech was based on an acute awareness of all those implications and ramifications of the unification process. It was intended to prompt both the Government and the general public to think ahead and brace themselves for this momentous national task.

ANNEX

Comparison Between the Unification Formulae of South and North Korea

	South	North
Name of the formula	Korean National Community Unification Formula	Formula for Creating a Democratic Confederation of Koryo (an old name for Korea)
Basic philosophy	Based on the values of freedom and democracy	Juche self-reliance ideology (a variation on Stalinism)
Unification process	In 3 phases: reconciliation and cooperation—a Korean commonwealth—a unified single nation-state Emphasis is on building a single national community leading to full unity	Gradual completion of a confederation Emphasis is on developing the structure of a unified state
Interim arrangement	Korean commonwealth	None
How to found a unified Korea	By democratic general elections in both the South and the North under the constitution of a unified Korea	Through negotiations at a conference of delegates from political and civic groups
Format of a unified Korea	A unified single nation-state with one system and one government	A confederation of two states, each with its own system and government
Vision of a unified Korea	Advanced democratic country ensuring freedom, welfare and human dignity for all	None
Prime mover behind unification	Entire Korean people	Proletariat

